directly responsible to the Secretary General. 000

In proportion to the size of its population, Communist Hungary 204
prints (and also supposedly reads) as much as any West European country. Newspapers and radio are the most important means of disseminating news.

Just like the newspapers for which they are the exclusive source, the official news agency of the government, the Magyar Távirati Iroda, (MTI) is State-owned and operated. It has a rather limited staff abroad because the coverage of foreign news is taken care of by the "home office," the TASS agency which furnishes almost exclusively the foreign news items to the Hungarian papers. MTI is under absolute Communist control and furnishes not only news bulletins but also commentaries and articles for the lesser newspapers.

Szabad Nép, the central organ of the Hungarian Communist Party is the Magyar equivalent of Pravda in style, form and content. It has the largest circulation in the country, reaching toward a million copies a day. A large proportion of this circulation is made up of regular subscribers who were pressured into subscribing by Party agitators and organizers. Those who refuse to subscribe can be branded.

204 "enemies of the people," and thus new subscribers are easy to convince.

Szabad Nép is, however, only one--although the most authoritative--of the numerous periodicals sponsored by the government. In 1952, there were 20 dailies in Hungary with an approximate total circulation of 350,000,000 per annum; at the same time, the total number of periodicals, including the dailies was 449, with a yearly output of 500,000,000 copies.

Besides Szabad Nép, other important Budapest dailies are the Magyar Nemzet, organ of the "Patriotic People's Front," the Szabad Nép of the intellectuals, and the Esti Budapest (since 1952), the style of which is the least insupportable among the Communist papers. The official paper of the Party in the villages is the Szabad Föld, a weekly newspaper intended especially for the peasants. The Szabad Nép itself is, however, being widely sold in the rural areas. The Communist equivalent of Punch is Ludas Matyi. Three important publications, Népnevelő, Propagandista and Pártépítés are especially published for Party workers and propagandists. The scientific monthly of the Party is Társadalmi Szemle.

All the Hungarian newspapers, especially Szabad Nép and Ludas Matyi, operate with a host of local correspondents. These people, how-

ever, are not free-lance correspondents in our sense of the word, but simply informers, devout Communists who denounce "anti-State" activities in letters to the editor. As a rule, these letters call attention to various kinds of local resistance, slow-downs in factories, excessive rejects, failure of grain deliveries, violence of the kulaks and their machinations against the kolkhoses, etc. These same people represent "public opinion" at the beginning of some important purge or political trial, when they write denunciatory letters demanding the most severe punishment for the defendants. The network of literary informers is good-sized: 4,937 such letters were received by the editor of Szabad Nép in 1951. 204

The two radio stations of Hungary, both State-owned, are the Kossuth Rádió and Petőfi Rádió, formerly Budapest I and II. These stations feature, besides entertaining and instructive programs, a generous amount of propaganda: eight daily news broadcasts (bulletins of TASS and the MTI), the 7 o'clock reading of the editorial of the day's Szabad Nép, then a thirty-minute program taken from Radio Moscow on a particular aspect of Soviet civilization, and a similar program from any of the People's Democracies. There are Russian language 207

874 students whose rooms showed the customary diverse interests of of youth—in learning, sport and the girl at home. Their opportunities of learning here[1] are considerable because, apart from lectures, the library is quite outstanding and is as well equipped with modern literature as it is with Calvin and De Beza first editions and early Hungarian Bibles.

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Bishop János Péter, member of the World Council of Peace.

794 One of the most outstanding achievements of the Hungarian 204 Protestant Churches is their Church Press. They run separate church newspapers but they maintain a combined Church Press Office which issues periodical bulletins in English and German but whose most important work is the regular supply of church news to all the Hungarian Press both national and local. The Reformed Church itself has a number of papers; its weekly *Az Ut* (The Way) has a 12,000 edition, the fortnightly *Református Egyház* (The Reformed Church) prints 2,000, and for the work of evangelisation there is the 32-page *Református Krónika* (Reformed Chronicle). There are other similar papers such as the Debrecen *Vasárnap* (Sunday). Two bulletins are also published: the *Church Courier* and *Hungarian Church Press.*

[1 i.e. Calvin College in Budapest--Analyst]

214 Papers, of course, are not the only publishing activity. Bibles
794 are published by the Bible Committee of the Hungarian Protestant Churches. In 1949 they disposed of 30,000 Bibles. In 1950 it was 15,000 up till the end of August, the rate of distribution slowing down as people are now awaiting a new translation on which an Old Testament Committee is working, the New Testament being nearly completed. (The current translation is of 1911.) Again 30,000 hymn books were distributed in 1949 and more than 15,000 by September, 1950. Books and pamphlets are published in considerable quantities, Turneiser's *Cry of the Soul* is one of the more recent. Separate school text books have been published for each of the eight school classes. The Church Calendar is produced in 55,000 copies; *Az Utitáes* (The Companion) is issued as a guide to daily Bible reading; Karl Barth's *Dogmatics* and *Gospel and Law* have been issued, as have works by Bereczky and Péter; there was a special pamphlet on the Holy Year and another against anti-semitism.

794 The Protestant Churches also attach considerable importance
[207] to the broadcasting time which is allotted to them. The Reformed Church has a fortnightly half-hour and every eighth week it broadcasts a full mission service. Its leaders also broadcast from time to time on other programmes. Since October they have also been given a half hour in both Hungarian and English on the short-wave programmes. Other churches have equivalent facilities although in October, 1950, the Catholics were still not availing themselves of their time.

The Reformed Church also has its own charity service and maintains 12 homes for orphans, four homes for old people, one home for epileptics, a mental hospital and a nursing home. These institutions are run by the central administration of the church. There are also others run by its local bodies. A special Sunday at the end of October was devoted to collections in all churches for the maintenance of these institutions. Every district church also maintains a church institute.

795 The situation in the Lutheran Church was explained by Bishop Dezséry, the successor to Bishop Ordass. The Lutherans, he said, have about 500,000 people. They are organised in four districts, each with a bishop. There are 21 deacons and 320 congregations. The largest is Budapest with 75,000 people. It is essentially a " diaspora " church (that is to say, scattered) and in remote places simply organised into pastoral circles.

874 The Lutheran Theological College is at Sopron and has about 100 students, 15 of whom were new this year. It runs a five-year course but is considering reducing it to four years. Latin, Greek
794 and Hebrew are compulsory. Lutheran publications include the
204 weekly *Evangélikus Elet* (Lutheran Life) 12,000 copies, the monthly *Lélek Pástos* (The Pastor) for pastors, and a weekly

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evangelical magazine *Elö Viz* (Living Water). They are considering the publication of a new monthly magazine for congregational work.

The great need of the moment is for cantors as most of their church cantors were school teachers who abandoned their church singing when they entered the employ of the State. This would seem to indicate that when they were in church employ they did the singing as an act of necessity rather than from free choice. As to politics, all the Lutheran pastors, said the bishop, were in favour of peace but not all work for it, although the bishops have given them a lead. "Christians and Communists," he said, "can work together. The peace movement shows it." As to influences in thinking, Barthianism was still strong although not as strong as among the Reformed. Some think his influence cannot be reconciled to the Augustinian Confession* although the bishop himself regarded this confessionalism as retrograde in the modern situation. Other European influences are Ragaz and Kutter, although their influence is waning and the present situation with its new tasks needed new thought. Naturally pastors were now reading socialist works and a number of articles and lectures and conferences show the effect this has had on their thinking. This was not, nevertheless, regarded as a primary task in the present situation, in which there were so many practical tasks to solve in which theology had a good deal to say, one such being anti-semitism, which was not yet eradicated although the policy of the State was having its effect.

Ordass had been convinced that Western bourgeois democracy was right for Christianity and had been sharply opposed to the socialist direction of the country's policy.‖ He had had a considerable influence in the Lutheran Church but by now the greater part of the pastors could see that the church was developing under the present State and that they are now getting a new relationship with the people. In this matter of Ordass, the Lutheran World Federation had, he thought, been an instrument of American policy. Ordass had eventually been deposed by the Church which had petitioned the Government for his release.

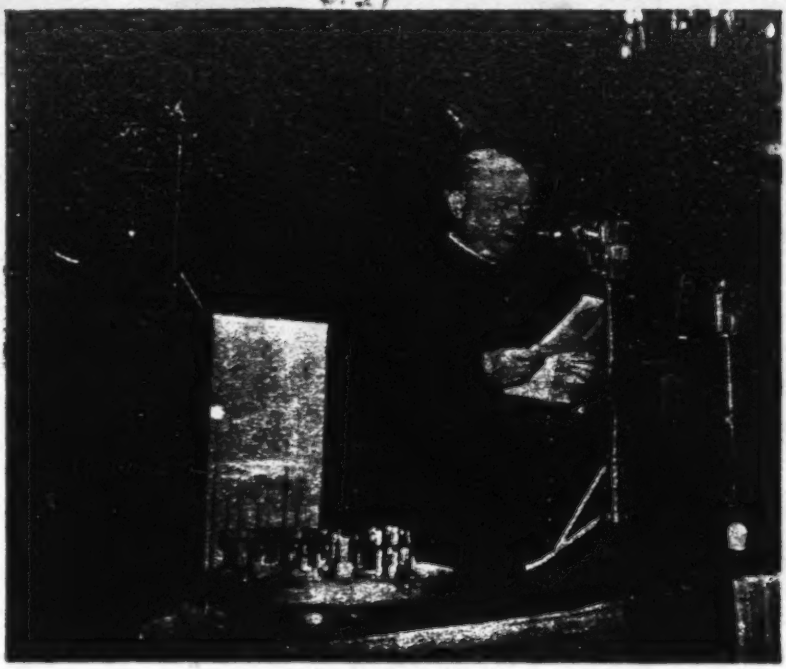
Attending Catholic services, visiting Esztergom, and meeting a number of priests associated with the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee showed a vigorous continuation of the life of the Catholic Church. The symbol of the Catholic Peace Committee, a white cross on a blue ground with a dove at the foot shows a relationship which is far from being inappropriate and which, however long it took to come is now powerfully grounded.† The effect of the Church-State agreement is also symbolised by the buildings at Esztergom where the vast and rather pretentious

* One of the basic documents of Lutheranism.

‖ Bishop Ordass' trial for currency offences is discussed on p. 17.

† By December, 1952, 3,000 of the total of 4,000 priests were members.

14: Evans S-3 (1950) 1953 EC1 Hungary EC1



Father Richard Horvath.

Both Catholics and Protestants protested to the Security Council against the bombing of civilians in Korea. At the World Peace Congress there were substantial Catholic and Protestant delegations, the Catholic being led by Fr. Horváth and the Protestant by Bishop Péter of Debrecen and Bishop Dezséry of the Lutherans. At the same time the Protestants issued a peace appeal to the Christians of the world; in January the Catholic paper *Uj Ember* (New People) expressed its approval of the Peace Law as did *A Kereszt* (The Cross)* the new weekly paper of the Catholic Priests' Peace Committee and the Lutheran Bishops issued a joint pastoral on Peace.

Recent Developments

Since that time there have been a number of developments of general interest.

In May, 1951, a new law was passed creating a State Office for Church Affairs charged with dealing with all relations between the Churches and the State. No new principle was involved in this measure because the Minister of Education had previously held the responsibility for dealing with such matters. The creation of the new department recognised that the churches were independent and ought not to be confused with questions such as education which were directly the province of the State, and at the same time, by creating a Minister responsible solely for relations between State and Church, it assured that these relations

* Other Catholic periodicals are the bulletin *Magyar-Kurir* (Hungarian Courier) and the monthly *Vigilea*.

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Some of the numerous church papers published in Hungary

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20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 EC1 Hungary EC1

665 At this stage of developments Western public opinion began to
648 show interest in Hungary's first major post-war crisis, symbolic of the
661 deepening rift between East and West. Secretary of State Marshall transmitted several strong American protests to the Soviet Union over its recent actions in Hungary. The notes encompassed the full scope of the country's serious internal crisis as they protested the Soviet "attempt to nullify the electoral mandate given by the Hungarian people," criticized the Red Army for arresting Kovács, expressed the U. S. Government's "feeling of concern", and finally requested a thorough Soviet-American investigation of the situation. Although there were no direct replies from the Hungarian Government, Lieutenant General V. P. Sviridov, Soviet chairman of the A.C.C. for Hungary, rejected the notes and categorically stated that the Smallholders Party, its leaders and party members admitted that the party had been involved in the conspiracy. "The conspiracy itself is being investigated by a People's Court provided for by the Hungarian Constitution."[24]

665 These internal purges were obviously intended to destroy the
661 ideologically balanced elements of post-war Hungarian politics. A ruthless liquidation of the Smallholders Party and its parliamentary majority contributed not only to a closer cooperation of the parties of the Left, but actually opened the way for a Communist-dominated bloc such as now rules Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. While the discovery of a right wing plot was of decisive value to the Communist Party, the coalition government which has survived several previous crises was in effect permanently crippled by it, and the influence of the Smallholders was considerably reduced by forcing them from one capitulation to another.

Press and Propaganda

204 Closely following the pattern of internal political developments, the trend of Hungarian newspaper writing has shifted considerably in the past few months. Today the Communist and Social Democratic press dominates the scene, displacing both in volume and political intensity the more moderate type of journalism characteristic of the immediate post-liberation period. The full impact of the *putsch* is

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[24] Cf. John MacCormac, "Russia Rejects U. S. Hungary Note," *The New York Times*, Mar. 9, 1947. Although officially suppressed, the American note of protest gained wide publicity and circulation in Budapest. The American Government's information service distributed over 10,000 copies of the Hungarian translation of this note in an effort to influence future party strategies and to bolster up the morale of the Smallholders Party.

20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 ECl Hungary ECl

most clearly shown in writings of the Social Democrats. Recent publications of this political group tend to be extremely pro-Soviet, continually stressing the close alliance between the Soviet Union and Hungary, and the friendly and cordial relations between the Communist and Social Democratic Parties.

The Social Democratic daily, *Világosság*, is a storehouse of interesting and pertinent political information. One of the most colorful members of the Party, Anna Kéthly, a respected and widely known old-line Socialist, serves both as editor of *Világosság* and as vice-president of the lower house of Parliament. Recent issues have given complete accounts of the joint sessions of Communists and Social Democrats under the auspices of the two Vice-Prime Ministers, Szakasits and Rákosi. The two parties have decided to sponsor a new *Cultural Society of Workers* dedicated "to the cultural and social promotion of the common objectives of Hungary's two Workers' Parties."[25] Cultural cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Hungary is equally emphasized by *Világosság*. During the winter of 1946 a great deal of space was given to reviews describing guest performances of the Russian Military Theater of Kiev, which spent several weeks in Budapest. Friendliness toward the military and occupational policies of the great Eastern neighbor logically follows the stress on cultural cooperation. Soviet personalities are frequently discussed and party journalists do not fail to express their unbounded admiration. Marshal Vorosilov, until recently commander of Soviet occupational forces in Hungary, was hailed as "the country's most sincere friend who did everything in his power to insure the most lenient application of the armistice terms."[26] This orientation is supplemented by a determined anti-Western attitude in foreign political writings. Under the heading "Where are the workers' living conditions best?" *Világosság* states that according to the detailed surveys of American newspapers (?) the skilled industrial workers' living standards are better in the Soviet Union than in any other part of the world.[27] Sweden and the United States admittedly have very high living standards, but the economic performance of the U.S.S.R. and Sweden clearly illustrate what Communist and Social Democratic leadership can achieve in a modern society.

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25 Cf. *Világosság*, Budapest, Dec. 1, 1946, p. 1, and several subsequent issues, invariably devoting front page space to such attempts at inter-party cooperation.

26 Cf. *A Magyar Nemzet Naptára*, Budapest, 1947, pp. 43-44.

27 Cf. *Világosság*, Jan. 17, 1947, p. 3.

20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 EC1 Hungary EC1

204 665 The Communist newspapers[28] reflect similar thought patterns, more forcibly expressed and more generously documented. The single monthly periodical, *Társadalmi Szemle* (*Social Survey*), presents a violent version of party-line views and opinions under its bannerhead *The Scientific Periodical of the Hungarian Communist Party.* A recent article by its editor, Béla Fogarasi, serves as an appropriate illustration of the narrow mentality of Hungary's Communists. Commenting on Churchill's Fulton, Missouri, speech, the author states that "To prove that there is no democracy in Southeastern Europe, Churchill cites the inordinate growth of Communist parties. Danubian peoples, however, reason differently from Mr. Churchill. They are fully aware that *there can be no democracy without Communist parties,* . . . their self-confidence is also considerably increased by Marshal Stalin, who has frequently stated that they could freely rely on the sympathy and assistance of a real world power, the Soviet Union."[29]

204 In spite of recent revolutionary developments a few politically moderate periodicals seem to have survived. As the leftist bloc gains in strength and cohesion the number of these survivors will in all probability sharply decrease. Their present position is as precarious as the political destinies of the coalition government itself. Of these products of semi-liberal journalism *Magyar Nemzet* and *Haladás* are the most representative and reliable. *Magyar Nemzet* excells in its foreign news coverage and thus supplies valuable information on political developments in the rest of Danubian Europe. Its attitude toward the West is friendly, its opinions on international organization constructive.[30] *Haladás* (*Progress*) is the weekly paper of a political non-entity, the 204 Hungarian Radical Party, which nevertheless appears to camouflage 665 a determined and intellectually effective group of professional people who have found a forceful and critical spokesman in the person of the

28 Best known among these are *Szabad Nép* (Free People) and *Szabadság* (Freedom), both of them daily papers, and *Szabad Föld* (Free Land), a weekly for "the Agricultural Class of Hungary."

29 Cf. Béla Fogarasi, "A dunai népek együttmüködése (The Cooperation of Danubian Peoples)," *Társadalmi Szemle*, May, 1946, pp. 354 *et seq.*

204 665 648 30 In December, 1946 *Magyar Nemzet* reported in detail on two important conferences. One of these was the meeting of the Social Democratic Parties of Central Europe in Prague, with representatives of the Socialist Parties of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania. The strong Hungarian delegation was led by Anna Kéthly. The other meeting of international significance was the All-Slav Congress of Belgrade, held in order "to promote Slavic unity and brotherhood." According to this report, the Congress was primarily a meeting of the cultural representatives of the Slavic peoples and did not aim at the establishment of an all-Eastern European Slavic bloc. *Magyar Nemzet*, Dec. 8 and 9, 1946, p. 1.

20: Gyorgy S-4 (no date)1947 EC1 Hungary EC1

editor, Béla Zsolt. From all indications, Zsolt's articles carry a great deal of weight in influencing the public opinion of Budapest. The Smallholders' weekly publication, *Reggel*, manages to supply a detailed and interesting coverage of domestic developments, both economic and political. Such measures of internal reconstruction as the application of a nation-wide martial law and death penalties to black marketeers and smugglers are conscientiously discussed and appraised in *Reggel*.[31]

Few foreign language publications have penetrated the intellectual "iron curtain" around Hungary; Western political and literary materials cannot be disseminated. Soviet authorities officially protested in the fall of 1946 against the publication and distribution of the U. S. State Department Bulletin containing primarily official documents. The American Legation in Budapest, backed up by the State Department, has nevertheless continued to distribute the Bulletin on a mailing list basis. About 500 English language and 500 Hungarian copies are regularly sent to newspapers, and to a few carefully selected government officials.

Propaganda matters are handled by the Ministry of Public Information whose official objectives involve the "information and *influencing* of Hungarian public opinion." Democracy has to be accepted, states an official bulletin of Public Information, even by those who were misled by the destructive propaganda of the past few years and have thus far proved incapable of adapting themselves to Hungary's present-day democracy.[32] These broad and aggressive objectives were gradually implemented by such officials as the present Minister of Information, József Bognár, theoretically a Smallholder, in reality of the extreme Left. According to recent newspaper reports, his Ministry has organized hundreds of political and cultural indoctrination courses, given both in Budapest and in provincial communities under the personal supervision of Bognár. The courses deal with "timely political and social questions, including such problems as participation of the peasant class in a democracy and the successful methods of national planning."[33] Propaganda and press are closely interwoven in present

31 This drastic executive order was put into effect in December, 1946. Judges are in permanent sessions to deal with such cases without delay. In addition to Budapest tribunals, twenty-two provincial courts are handling "crimes" connected with black-market operations. Penalties range for a minimum of ten years' imprisonment to death sentences. Cf. *Reggel*, Dec. 2, 1946, p. 5.

32 Quoted in *Világ*, Nov. 23, 1946, p. 2.

33 Cf. *Magyar Nemzet*, Nov. 22, 1946, p. 3. The report indicates that there are over one hundred students in each course, the period of instruction covering about two weeks.

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204 Propoganda and press are closely interwoven in present
208 day Hungary, exerting an ever-increasing political pressure on all phases of post-war reconstruction.

State Versus Religion

659 Until recently both Soviet occupational authorities and the Hungarian Communists have avoided restricting by legislation the country's religious liberty. On the contrary, in order to disarm criticism by religious groups, the coalition government introduced legal measures to restore "the rights of individual communities belonging to accepted and recognized religions which were abolished by earlier Fascist regulations."[34] There has been a definite increase of popular attachment to the Roman Catholic Church which has retained its strong
793 influence on public opinion. The present Catholic leader of Hungary,
659 Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, is very outspoken on moral and national matters and has taken a definite stand on contemporary issues. During the war he protested on several occasions against particular actions of the German and Hungarian Fascists.[35] As Bishop of Veszprém he was repeatedly mistreated by gangs of the Fascist Arrow Cross followers. He severely criticized the land reform which deprived the Church of over half a million acres by limiting all ecclesiastical holdings to less than one hundred acres each. More recently in a letter addressed to the Minister of Justice he complained about the mistreatment of war criminals. As a Catholic leader he continually emphasized his anti-Communist sentiments and his disapproval of the methods and severity of Soviet occupation.

793 Some of Cardinal Mindszenty's close followers recently submitted
661 a plan which would put Hungary's reconstruction on a broader and more democratic basis. This project entails a four-power supervision of the Hungarian Army and police force after the withdrawal of Soviet

34 Decree 6270/1946 M.E., published June 4, 1946, H.G. 125.

35 In June, 1944, in a joint pastoral circular letter with the then Cardinal Justinian Serédi he stated that: "Precisely now, because we are in this dreadful world war, we are in the greatest need of the help of God. . . . In these very times we see with unutterable sadness that here, in Christian Hungary, successive orders were decreed which are opposed to the laws of God. These edicts have infringed upon, and even totally taken away the inborn rights of a part of our Hungarian fellow-citizens . . . and they are persecuted exclusively on account of their racial origin, without proving their individual crimes, if any, and without the procedure prescribed by law. You also could readily understand the injustice of such action, if you were deprived of your rights in this manner." This pastoral letter was ordered read in every Catholic church in the country. It has recently been reprinted in its full text, in English, as part of a documentary collection of Catholic speeches and statements, *Important Declarations of J. Serédi, Taken From his Pastoral Letters and Speeches Which Refer to Actual Ecclesiastico-Political Questions* (Budapest, 1946), pp. 28-37.